UNITY

FREEDOM FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

(Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Editor 1880-1918)

Editors

John Haynes Holmes **Francis Neilson**

An Experimental Theology

By JESSE H. HOLMES

Gandhi and the Crisis in India

By JOHN HAYNES HOLMES

Draft Treaty of Disarmament and Security and the Outlawry of War

By S. O. LEVINSON

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UNITY

"HE HATH MADE OF ONE ALL NATIONS OF MEN"

VOLUME XCIV THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 4, 1924 NUMBER 1

"The signatories desire the removal of the clause restricting the means to what is 'peaceful and legitimate.' . . . They say 'means are after all means.' I would say 'means are after all everything.' As the means, so the end. Violent means will give violent Swaraj. That would be a menace to the world and to India herself. France obtained her freedom by violent means. She is still paying dearly for her violence. . . . There is no wall of separation between means and end. Indeed the Creator has given us control (and that too very limited) over means, none over the end. Realization of the goal is in exact proportion to that of the means. This is a proposition that admits of no exception. Holding such a belief, I have been endeavoring to keep the country to means that are purely 'peaceful and legitimate.'"

—Mahatma Gandhi.

There are millions of non-partisans in this country who vote consistently on the record of the candidates. The comparison in the present election is interesting. President Coolidge has no record, save that of the common-garden variety of politician who walks soberly in the beaten path of political conformity and tradition. One can search his career in vain for a single constructive act, as one can his speeches and messages in vain for a single creative idea. His three years as Governor of Massachusetts left the state exactly where he found it. In his year as President, everything would have been the same had there been no occupant of the White House at all. His one world-famous deed—the breaking of the Boston police strike—is a fable, like the myths of Hercules. From first to last Mr. Coolidge is an absolutely negligible public figure. Mr. Davis's record is rich in character and achievement—much too rich, we imagine, for his success in the present campaign! The *New York World* has been making a desperate effort to read his public career in terms of liberalism, sympathy for labor, etc., but it has been a trying job. Most of the material cited comes from the cases argued by Mr. Davis during his term of service as Solicitor-General of the United States—cases which he *had* to argue, be it noted, as a matter of public duty. The moment he became a private attorney, the landscape changes. He now chooses his cases, instead of having them chosen for him, and they all become pleadings for special privilege, great wealth, and attacks by capital on labor. In his private practice since 1921, Mr. Davis has appeared seven times before the United States Supreme Court. The cases are listed in the August 20 issue of *The Nation* (page 173), and they make a gorgeous spectacle. It is as plain as a pike-staff that Mr. Davis became the favorite defender of the big interests, and was glad to take their enormous fees in exchange for advocating their right to break labor and plunder the public. In eloquent contrast stands the record of Mr. La Follette. Read the story of his Wisconsin achievements, as written in Frederic C. Howe's "Wisconsin, An Experiment in Democracy," and Chester C. Platt's more recently published "What La Follette's State Is Doing." Here is the record of creative statesmanship of the first order. Under La Follette's leadership, Wisconsin has rescued its people from economic exploitation and tyranny, developed marvellous works of public service, and therewith become the truest bit of democracy on the map of the United States. In his score of years as Senator in Washington, "a survey of his record," says Arthur Warner in *The Nation* (August 20, page 181), "leaves the conviction that no other man prominent in national life in this century and in this country has for so long a time devoted himself so courageously, unswervingly, and intelligently to the public welfare." Mr. La Follette is denounced as a windy demagogue. What nonsense! This man has behind him a record of solid achievement for democracy which makes Mr. Coolidge a nonentity and Mr. Davis a sham.

It is a heartening experience to take account of stock on the Outlawry of War issue, and see where we stand. Our mind goes back five years and more to the day when we knew this Outlawry program as an idea in the mind of a single man. From that time it has grown and spread until the phrase has become a peace slogan the world around, and the program itself one of two or three proposals for peace now under serious public discussion. It lies on the table of the U. S. Senate as a Resolution backed by Mr. Borah, and on the table of the League of Nations in the so-called "American Plan" of Professor Shotwell and his colleagues. It has been unqualifiedly endorsed by four of the largest religious denominations in this country, most notably by the Presbyterians and the Methodists, and by numerous other church bodies, local and sectional. Most interesting of all at this moment, it appears in one way or another in the political pronunciamentos of every one of the three parties in the presidential campaign. Mr. Davis seems to know little about the idea, and what little

he thinks he knows is ludicrously wrong, but it is written into his party platform all the same. The Republican platform is silent on the issue, but Mr. Coolidge, in his acceptance speech, spoke significant words, as follows:

> I personally should favor entering into covenants for the purpose of outlawing aggressive war by any practical means.

The most unqualified commitment to Outlawry is that in the Progressive platform, and we happen to know that Mr. La Follette is familiar with the proposal and gives it his enthusiastic endorsement. We search history in vain for any parallel to this rapid conquest of the public mind by a single idea. If there is any hope for peace today, it is to be found in the fact that at last we have a formula which holds water.

The campaign is moving on, but we are not hearing much about the World Court endorsed by the Republicans and the Democrats. The World Alliance of Churches opines that this two-fold endorsement does not clinch victory by any means, and warns its friends against resting on their oars. We think the Alliance is well-advised. The victory is not won—nor should it be won! We confess we cannot understand all this earnest and sincere enthusiasm for the World Court on the part of supposedly intelligent people. Whenever we hear it praised as a step forward, we think of a test offered by a learned friend of ours which seems to us conclusive. The World Court, you say, is a forward step! It marks a definite advance over anything hitherto accomplished for the peaceful settlement of international disputes—the Hague Court, for example! If this is so, and if America should join the World Court for this reason, then there must be cases which this country would refer to the World Court which it would not refer to the Hague Court! *What are these cases?* Step right up, now, and tell us what cases the United States could or would refer to the World Court which she could not or would not refer to the Hague Court. Are there no such cases? Then the World Court is not a definite advance, or any kind of an advance, over the Hague Court. It is the same kind of a tribunal, a little differently organized, considerably more pretentious and impressive, but at bottom the same old futile thing. When a real *casus belli* came along, as in 1914, the Hague Court was never even mentioned. The same thing will be true of the World Court. As regards the United States, we don't care much whether she joins the Court or not. It will not make an eye-lash's difference in the issue of war and peace. We prefer, however, to have the United States remain out of the Court, if only to save the people from another vast experience of disillusionment. Why raise hopes, when sooner or later they are certain to be dashed?

The Dawes Plan is evidently going to be given its trial. Today, as on the day when it was first announced, this Plan seems to us to offer little but a continuation of European disorder and disaster. Its acceptance brings along incidental gains of importance—notably the withdrawal of the French from the Ruhr, a demonstration of the utter failure of Poincaré's much-tooted statesmanship! But the Plan itself is barren of real good. It is notable that, on the back benches of Parliament, where the independent spirits are always found, men of all parties are warning of certain disillusionment. Sir Frederick Wise, Mr. Marcus Samuel, Sir A. Shirley Benn, for the Conservatives, and Mr. Pringle for the Liberals, are joined with Mr. Tom Johnston, Mr. Dickson, Mr. Wallhead, and Mr. E. D. Morel, in criticism of the Plan. Mr. Morel, as usual, goes to the heart of the matter. "With regard to the Dawes Report," he says in debate (see August *Foreign Affairs,* page 39), "it would be dishonest and it would be quite idle to pretend that this Report is not regarded by many of us on these benches with a most profound apprehension." The cause is of course the connection of the Report or Plan with the Versailles Treaty, its attempt to exact reparations which cannot, as they should not, be paid. Says Mr. Morel:

> The Dawes Report is not going to solve what is called the problem of reparations. How many times has the statement been made in the last few years that the salvation of Europe depends upon a settlement of the reparation question? But the salvation of Europe has been prevented, is being prevented, and will be prevented, by the reparation policy, and for my part, if we were called upon to vote in this House on the Dawes Report tonight, I should vote against it unless I had absolute guarantee from the Government that our acceptance of the Report did not in any way tie our hands from adopting . . . a decisive and distinct national policy with regard to the whole question of reparations so far as our share in them was concerned.

This is the situation in a nut-shell. Europe will be saved when reparations are abandoned, and the Versailles Treaty is not enforced but cast aside.

There has recently been brought to our attention the loveliest "give-away" of the League of Nations that we have ever seen. It is contained in a letter to the New York *Times* by Miss Sarah Wambaugh, whose *naivetè* on another matter we featured in these columns in the last issue. Miss Wambaugh, formerly a member of the Secretariat of the League, is much concerned because the United States is unrepresented in the League and thus unable to answer attacks upon her. The case in point is that of Haiti, whose representative, M. Bellegarde, is to denounce the rule of the United States in his island-home at the forthcoming meeting of the League, as he recently denounced it at the meeting of the International Federation of League of Nations Unions at Nancy, and at Geneva, as at Nancy, demand "justice and liberation" for his country. "Before 162 official representatives of the fifty-four members of the League," says Miss Wambaugh, plaintively, "Bellegarde will mount the tribune . . . and Americans will have the humiliation of hearing their country attacked and no answer made." Then comes

the "give-away"! Writes Miss Wambaugh, with almost incredible simplicity:

> The League, it is safe to say, will take no action regarding Haiti. It will not wish to antagonize the United States. But it is not safe to count on the rest of the world always foregoing the chance to advance their own interests for the sake of our wishes or our dignity. *If we had an official delegate at Geneva he could with his one veto make certain that no vote not approved by our Government would be passed.*

Here is your League, dear friends! A true international legislature—a council where meet all the nations on an equal footing of privilege and power—an agency for the protection of the rights of small nationalities—a means to the establishment of that justice which is the sure foundation of peace? Not much! The League of Nations, as we have always said, is an alliance of the great powers for the control of the world in their own interest. If you want America "in" on this business of imperial tyranny and plunder—very good, that is what the League is for! But if you want to try to have America serve the interests of liberty and peace, then the farther removed she is from Geneva the better.

News from Austria, the prize-package of the League of Nations, that country so happily re-established, reconstructed, redeemed by the League's wisdom and beneficence, continues to be as tragic as ever. Some months ago payments from the League's loan to Austria were suspended. The international bankers evidently got alarmed, and refused to throw good money after bad! The Austrian deficit, which was to disappear entirely, you remember, is steadily mounting to sky-high proportions. Whereas the League contemplated a surplus of 26,000,000,000 kronen in July last, it was called upon to face an actual deficit of 100,000,000,000 kronen. Is it surprising that, in his latest report to the League, Dr. Zimmermann, the League's Commissioner in Austria, refers to "lack of confidence," a resulting credit shortage, and the failure of some more banks? It certainly is a lovely situation, and a demonstration, as the League advocates have been telling us from the beginning, of *what the League can do*. In cases of this kind—nothing at all! Think of the madness of it! Here was a country lying in Europe, like the victim of the highwayman in the parable of the "Good Samaritan." Austria was beaten, robbed, all but dead. She was stripped of territory, wealth, farmlands, natural resources, her railroads left like severed arteries in a butchered body. Cut a slice of flesh out of the human organism, and expect it to live of itself, said a careful observer, and you have a picture of post-war Austria. Then the League comes along, and does—what? It turns to the bankers, gets a loan at a good big rate of interest, binds the loan upon this dying country, and lo, she is saved. Wonderful—wonderful! As wonderful as though a surgeon should transfuse blood into a patient whose arteries were wide open! What the League did, of course, was to take Austria while she was not yet utterly dead, and pass her over to the bankers for exploitation. These bankers are now sucking her dry—see the deficit!—and soon will throw the carcass aside—see the suspended payments on the loan! Hail to the League of Nations!

We find in *Zion's Herald* (July 23, page 933), an illustrated account of the first number of *Christian,* the new religious magazine of the Reformed Orthodox Church ("The Living Church") of Russia. This magazine should prove interesting to those who believe that the Soviet Government is engaged in a crusade of destruction against religion and the church, and especially to those who contend that the new Russian church is an ungodly organization deliberately fostered by the Bolsheviki for the overthrow of Christianity from within. The cover bears at the top Paragraph 13 of the Constitution of Soviet Russia—"Freedom of religious and anti-religious propaganda is guaranteed to all citizens." Then follows the title of the magazine—*Christian*—the date, number of issue, and "Contents." The articles listed are of enormous interest. Here is an article on "Science and Religion," and another on "Knowledge and Faith." Archpriest V. V. Shepovaloff presents a paper entitled, "Arguments with Atheists." Bishop Blake's address before the Territorial Council of the Russian Orthodox Church in Moscow is printed in full. Ralph M. Frink writes of "The Orthodox Church in America." Bishop Georgi describes the "Moscow Academy of Theology," and Archpriest P. Raevski the "Opening of the Theological School in Leningrad." Most significant of all is a translation in this paper of Professor Walter Rauschenbusch's "The Social Teachings of Jesus." How atheistical this all is—how anti-Christian! What convincing evidence it presents of the determination of the Bolsheviki, with their ruthless suppression of free speech and free press, to get rid of all religion! As a matter of fact, of course, the persecution charge is absurd—as absurd yesterday as it is today. Yet we have no doubt that, if a copy of this paper were placed in every household in America, the majority of our people would still go on believing that Russia is the abode of the Devil and all his angels. Such is the power of prejudice!

An Experimental Theology

Theology is one of the most backward of the sciences, remaining in a position corresponding to the alchemies and astrologies of the dark ages. It is a very curious thing that our western world has adopted so fully the theology of an obscure and ancient Oriental people, that it only modifies it and grafts alien ideas on it. This is an attempt at one based on observation and experience.

We have constantly to deal with two quite opposite aspects of our world—its uniformity and its variety. The former of these includes the whole scientific side of things: law and order, the mechanistic explanation of the cosmos, the predestination and election view of the world brought down to date and intensified. Those who are especially interested in the sciences tend to carry this aspect of things to great extremes. They exaggerate the uniformities of nature and make light of its varieties, supplying in an assumed "law" of cause and effect a kind of monstrous, unintelligent world-dictator which utterly determines every minutest happening. Any really thoughtful person must realize that such assumption is wholly unfounded in experience. Our world supplies multitudes of similarities but no identities. The so-called "laws" of nature are merely averages of the behavior of similar bodies under similar conditions. There are probably no cases in nature of "obedience" to "law," in the sense usually assumed.

The other aspect of experience is that of variation. Its special field is that of life, consciousness, personality. As in the case of its supplementary aspect, its especial protagonists tend to exaggerate and expand the part played by free choice, by chance or by some incalculable will. This second aspect of nature is the special field of theology.

It would seem therefore that the most hopeful portion of that field in which to seek for a god would be that portion where free choice is most in evidence, which is of course, the human consciousness. Yet we are at once confronted by the fact that "consciousness," "personality," "self," "soul"—all the terms that have to do with the individual person—are among the most difficult words of the language to define clearly. And furthermore the more carefully and accurately the psychologist makes his attempts at analysis the more uncertain are the boundaries. He finds himself obliged to add great areas of "the subconscious" which apparently supply a repository for much of our inheritance from the long past—the violence, the unreason, the passion, of our remote ancestry. But is it not also true that in addition to the subconscious annex to the normal self there is also a superconscious annex? Practically all the religions of the world have reached the stage of believing in a greater and higher personality with which the everyday self is in communion at times, and which may be regarded as man's supreme imperative, or that which above all else should be obeyed. Of course the various religions arrayed this greater self in the more or less tawdry garments of the greatest men they knew—patriarch, king or emperor. Equally of course there developed in many cases mythologies replete with adventure and interest. But these extraneous items need not turn our attention from the experimental and verifiable fact of a superself in addition to the subself. Characteristic of this superself is its constant demand upon men that they shall think less of their individual personal interests and more of whatever group they may be associated with. Also noteworthy is the fact that this group always grows larger as the religion develops and that its inevitable boundaries seem to be those of the human race. Always those religions are regarded as "highest" which have the greatest inclusions. "God" tends always to grow into relations with more and more of the people of the world. The codes of "righteousness" handed out by the various deities are wholly or in part commands of self control and service in the interest of the greater group. No more perfect example can be found than the development of the Hebrew law and ethical commandments into the "new commandment" of general love for mankind and service of its interests.

What is here proposed is that this experimental superself is the kernel of reality in all theologies: that we have here the verifiable meaning of "god." The Old Testament prophets, accepting the hereditary idea of Jehovah as a person, nevertheless depended on the "word of God" as it came to them directly; and the essential message of the prophet was that of self-enlargement. Men were to give up "vain oblations," "long prayers," etc., and instead were to look after the interests of the weak and helpless. They were to cease from drunkenness and from adding "house to house and field to field" and to take on service for the oppressed. In attaining to oneness with the Father Jesus taught that we are to avoid harsh judgments, to be humble, kind, peaceful—ready to accept humiliation and condemnation in unselfish service. Paul states explicitly that whereas "the old man is of the earth, earthy," the new man *"is the Lord from Heaven"*; and again "I live, yet not I but Christ liveth in me." The old narrow self is gone, replaced by a larger and more inclusive self. The Greek theologies painfully worked out in the early centuries of Christianity are vastly complicated by the attempt to create great closed systems with an answer for every possible question. But when we read the intimate personal writings of the church fathers, leaders and reformers, we find always that sense of an expanded self, a contact with a greater personality,—as in many of the writings of Clement

and Origen, of Augustine, of Thomas à Kempis, Luther, Fox and Wesley.

Often there is a long struggle, a period of despair and blackness followed by "salvation." The old self dies hard not realizing that its death is but a prelude to a resurrection.

Some of the well known definitions of "god" and "religion" show that the proposed idea of god is present in them. Matthew Arnold's "stream of tendency" may be identified in the trend of mankind toward a greater and from a lesser, self. His "morality touched with emotion" points out the passion that men attach to their greater service when they genuinely enter it. His "power, not ourselves, that makes for righteousness" recognizes the pressure upon the normal self to become a superself. Menzies "worship of a higher power from a sense of need" notes that we are dealing with an inner longing which draws us to something we recognize as "higher." Even the crude and petty evangelisms which undertake to "save" souls by way of emotional debauches, urge the insufficiency of the present "self" and the need of a transformed life. The pity of it is that they have no worthy life to propose when they have induced the denial of the old self. They have only a historical character to present for our loyalty instead of a nobler, greater, and more energetic self.

Herbert Spencer says "there remains the one absolute certainty that man is always in the presence of an infinite and eternal energy from which all things proceed." Aside from the fact that the certainty is not absolute, that we do not know whether or not it is eternal or infinite, that it cannot be certainly defined as "energy," and that it is not clear what is meant by "all things" proceeding from it—aside from these modifications, is not this a very satisfying statement? Is it not a fact that man has frequent open contacts with a recognizable superself? Is it not a fact that he can open the contact by meditation, by prayer, by striving? Is it not a fact that at his greatest moments his whole personality is fused into this superself? Is it not a fact that now and then men are permanently transformed so that the old self disappears and the greater self has permanent control?

Is not this superself what man means and has always meant by "god," when he was dealing with experience, and not merely with authority?

JESSE H. HOLMES.

Jottings

In the Boston newspapers we read this sort of a thing (from a correspondent of the *Herald,* August 12th): "The present incumbent (Mr. Coolidge) is superior in training, temperament and capacity for the executive duties of the President's office to all who have gone before. ALL who have gone before." Hysteria of this type raises again the question of the Coolidge myth. Was there ever a clearer demonstration of the fact that the age of superstition is still with us?

Ex-Premier Baldwin is reported as saying that, had the League of Nations not existed, "a resort to arms would have taken place" in the Greco-Italian dispute last year. Will somebody please tell us what "a resort to arms" is? Italy mobilized her fleet, bombarded Corfu, killed a score of non-combatants, and forced submission and reparations from Greece. Isn't this a "resort to arms," and a highly successful one? Italy fought until she got what she wanted. If that sort of thing isn't war, what is it, please?

Of the four acceptance speeches by Davis, Coolidge, Bryan and Dawes, the last is the only one which had pith and moment. General Dawes pointed to Coolidge as the conservative and La Follette as the liberal candidate, and named the issue between these two men "the predominant issue of the campaign." This is correct. Davis and Bryan are only duplications. We cannot see why conservatives should vote for anybody other than the President, or how liberals and radicals can vote for anybody other than La Follette.

Terrible time in Pekin! The Soviet ambassador to China has arrived, and has to be allowed to associate with the ministers of other powers. The American minister actually had to meet and confer with the Russian the other day, although he is not allowed officially to recognize him. O, that Gilbert were alive, to satirize these diplomatic goings-on as they deserve!

The report to the League of Nations on poisonous gas indicates that, whereas about thirty (30) gases were used in the World War, an army entering war today would have "more than one thousand (1000) different kinds at its disposal." Professor Cannon, of Harvard, states that "in the last war nothing was seen which was even comparable to the probable destruction of industrial regions and massacres of civilian populations if a fresh conflict breaks out." It looks to us as though it were about time to outlaw war.

Suppose that communication between this earth and the planet, Mars, had been opened up on August 23rd last! What would we have heard? A jazz band—a tenor solo, "O you baby"—or a campaign speech in the Martian presidential race?

J. H. H.

Gandhi and the Crisis in India

The crisis in India, described in the August 7th issue of UNITY, has become intensified rather than relieved by the action of the All-India Congress Committee on the four resolutions presented by Mahatma Gandhi. These resolutions, it will be remembered, called for a drastic re-affirmation of the original Swaraj program of non-violent coercion—a pledging of all members of "the various Congress organizations" to Khaddar (handspinning of native cloth), to the boycott of "government law courts, schools, titles, and legislative bodies," to repudiation of political assassination and all other forms of violence, and to strict discipline of secretaries and other members of the organization in the carrying out of instructions and policies. In presenting these resolutions, Gandhi had the general purpose of restoring the original uncompromising idealism of his crusade for national independence. More particularly he was concerned with breaking up the movement for political participation in the local councils, headed by Mr. Das. This movement, which had gained considerable headway during Gandhi's period of imprisonment, involved a serious schism in the Swaraj campaign, and, as an entering wedge into the non-cooperation program, threatened the eventual overthrow of everything for which the Mahatma had given his life and to which he had so triumphantly rallied the masses of his countrymen.

At the meeting of the Congress Committee, reported in the July 3rd issue of *Young India,* all of Gandhi's four resolutions were carried by a vote of 148 to 140. By any other leader in any other country, this result would undoubtedly have been counted as a victory, and the advantage pressed to the uttermost. But not so by Gandhi! He describes himself, in a remarkable article, as "humbled and defeated." He writes:

> I had a bare majority always for the four resolutions. But it must be regarded by me as a minority. The house was fairly evenly divided. . . . I undoubtedly regard the voting as a triumph for Mr. Das, although he was apparently defeated by eight votes. That he could find 70 supporters out of 148 who voted had a deep significance for me. It lighted the darkness, though very dimly as yet.

Quite as surprising as the actual balloting, apparently, was the spirit of the meeting. There was no rancor or hard-feeling; "no speaker had any malice in him." But there was irresponsibility and lack of seriousness. "After the declaration," writes Gandhi,

> . . . the house abandoned itself to levity. Most important resolutions were passed with the greatest unconcern. . . . Everybody rose on points of order and information. The ordeal was enough to try the patience of any chairman.

Gandhi was overwhelmed. Even a remarkable demonstration of personal affection and loyalty, following upon a speech of touching confession of dismay, failed to soothe the laceration which he had suffered.

> I had nothing to forgive, for none had done any wrong to me. On the contrary, they had all been personally kind to me. I was sad because we were weighed in the scales of our own making—the Congress creed—and found wanting; we were such poor representatives of the nation! I seemed to be hopelessly out of place. My grief consisted in the doubt about my own ability to lead those who would not follow.

Gandhi's first impulse was to resign. "My innermost wish was and still is to retire from the Congress, and confine my activity merely to Hindu-Muslim unity; Khaddar, and Untouchability." But his supporters would not listen to such a proposal. He had no right, they said, to retire at a critical period in the history of the nation. His withdrawal would not smooth matters. It would cause depression, and remove from the Congress meetings a restraining influence. He must work for the program of which he was the author, and seek its adoption by the Congress. Furthermore, he was reminded that his "program had a far greater majority than the voting of the A. I. C. C. would indicate." So he must go to the country, appeal to the people, and rally India to his cause as he had rallied it before.

To these proposals Gandhi finally, though most reluctantly, acceded. But he insisted that his narrow majority, won at the Committee meeting, must in no way be used to embarrass Mr. Das and his followers. There must not even be any retirement of the council members!

> "So far as the A. I. C. C. is concerned," said Gandhi, "the (Das) position has never been so strong as it is now. They are entitled to claim a moral victory. Believing as they do in giving battle to the Government in the Assembly and the councils, they have no reason whatsoever for withdrawing from the legislative bodies at the present moment."

So the crisis continues, with settlement postponed till the meeting of the All-India Congress in December. The result cannot be doubtful to those who know Gandhi and his power over the Indian people. We anticipate a renewal of the great awakening of 1920-1921. Meanwhile, the outcome of the A. I. C. C. meeting, if a tempraory moral defeat for Gandhi's program, is a marvellous moral triumph for Gandhi himself. When has the world seen such an example of humility? When has even the Mahatma risen to such heights of patience, self-control, gentleness, self-abnegation, understanding of and love for opponents? When has his faith in the soundness of his principles, and the certainty of their ultimate victory, burned with such perfect clearness!

> I saw that I was utterly defeated and humbled. But defeat cannot dishearten me. It can only chasten me. My faith in my creed stands immovable. I know that God will guide me. Truth is superior to man's wisdom.

We count this episode one of the most sublime in Gandhi's history. He stands revealed more clearly than ever as the greatest man now living in the world, and one of the immortal spirits of all time.

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES.

"Grave Consequences"

Six Articles on the American-Japanese Situation

5.

STANDARDS OF LIVING

Those who favor exclusion of Orientals base their argument chiefly upon two foundations: First, fear lest we shall be swamped by the incoming tide of color, that we may be crowded off of our own lands, that we may be supplanted upon our own soil; second, fear lest the standard of living of the American laborer be lowered.

The gentlemen's agreement provided against the first of these disasters. Under its operation there is no danger of our being crowded from our heritage and no excuse for fear.

California is the center of this fear, the place where the "inferiority complex" shows itself in its most virulent form. In 1920 that state passed laws of which it will necessarily in future be ashamed. In connection with the campaign preceding the passage of these laws misrepresentation and falsehood were constant and used upon a scale rarely seen in American politics. The newspapers were open to but one side. Publishing statements glaringly false, they refused to correct them or to give a hearing to the other side. So raw and cruel was this procedure that it finally aroused in California itself a reaction, and an American Committee of Justice was organized to try to give some recognition to facts and to save the reputation of the State from permanent disgrace. They were unable to obtain space in the newspapers except in the form of paid advertisements. Such paid advertisements they printed, with the result that a very considerable vote was cast against the bill. It had been assumed that there would be no votes against the proposed law. As a matter of fact the Alien Land Measure of 1920 was voted on by less than 900,000 persons. 608,000 votes were in its favor, but 230,000 were cast against it. When it is realized that the committee was organized only at the last moment, and that it had no adequate means of presenting its opinion, this is a remarkable showing. It is probable that they had realized the situation sooner, the bill would never have been passed. It is not true that these 230,000 votes represented only those interests who desired to employ Japanese labor. The reading of the list of membership of the committee shows some of the most respected names of California.

In their published advertising matter the committee said, among other things, the following:

> The population of California is 3,426,526, of which only 2 per cent are Japanese. In 1919 more white children were born in the State than the total of Japanese births for the ten years preceding. In the last ten years our population increased 1,058,987. It was a 44.1 increase, while that of the whole United States was only 14 per cent.

Under these circumstances it certainly looks as if we had used the proper term in speaking of "the inferiority complex," acecting California. If California is really in danger under these circumstances, one of two things is true. Either she has not the natural resources and advantages usually attributed to her and claimed by her. If it is true that she cannot count on white immigration from other parts of the United States and foreign lands to offset a dwindling immigration of so small percentage, her bid for settlers must have small grounds. Or else California is toying with the latest fool fad of diseased intellectuals—birth control. There is no question that Japanese births are many if ten years of them anywhere near equal the number of white children born in a single year.

If it is the fertility of the Japanese living in California that gives concern, it is quite time that the white population of the State should return to reason and natural ideas regarding human reproduction. As regards the lowering of the standard of living of the American laborer, we may as well frankly face a few simple facts. One of those mentors who came from Eastern towns to the Coast to pat us on the back, develop our megalomania, and confirm us in our folly, has recently commented on the money we are pouring into South America. It seems that Judge Gary has recently returned from that continent, and suggests that we might well seek that field for investment.

The mentor adds:

> Whether an American knows Latin America or not he cannot fail to see the common business sense of Judge Gary's statements. In fact, thousands of American business men have seen it and have seen it for some time. That is why this country has nearly four billion dollars invested in Latin American countries today, as against a little more than three billion dollars in 1920. That is why three billion 150 million of this vast sum is invested in the Latin American industries, and only 600 to 700 million in government bonds.

What does this mean? Does it not seem as if we might use four billion dollars to advantage in the United States? Have the years from 1920 to 1924 been so happy and productive in our home land that we can easily spare four billion dollars for investment in South America? This money goes to South America because it gets a larger return there than if invested here; it runs a greater risk, but promises a large reward.

Why can it not be profitably used here in the United States? First, because we can no longer get great returns for little effort; second, because we pay more for production than the product is worth. America has always been a land of inflation. Scantily populated, its untouched resources yielded largely. The result was that men lived in relative luxury; money was plenty; labor was well paid; values were high. Of course, the situation had an unsettling effect upon the world outside. Europe and Asia found conditions that had been settled and long maintained, shaken. By going to the New World, prosperity seemed sure. These conditions remained throughout a considerable portion of our history. They cease, of course, as the country fills; they lower with development. We must face the fact however bitter it may be. There was a time when the man who failed or was at a disadvantage in our Eastern States could almost surely reach success by going West.

There is no longer an empty West before us. The pinch of changed conditions began to be seriously felt in the closing decade of the past century. It was no doubt the main cause of the Spanish War which gave a temporary relief. If there were continents yet unoccupied with abundant resources, we might stave off a lowering of the conditions of life of American labor. There are those who see hope in Australia; but that island continent is certainly a most over-estimated area.

It is much nearer to development and use of resources than is generally realized.

South America has space and to some degree opportunity for actual settlers; but a great part of its area is in the tropics, and the portion suited to white man's occupancy is already tag-marked by Italian and other European seekers. Africa is an unsolved mystery. Well-occupied and desert in the north, tropical in its middle section, only the southern portion of the continent can possibly become a white man's country. And it has its problems. It was no common statesman who warned Great Britain that the doom of the British Empire might be found in South Africa.

There are many persons who expect that we can hold our standard of living by forcing an elevation of the standard in other lands. It is true that we unsettled conditions in Europe; it is true that cost of living and wages both have gone up in Japan and other Asiatic countries. But to believe that this result will be permanent and general—to assume that the standard in those thickly settled lands will rise until it equals our own standard is an empty dream. The unsettlement will only last as long as emigration from those lands takes place. When the poor and miserable laborer of Eastern Europe can find no other place in which to live and work wages and standards will settle back to the old level—which after all was the practical outcome of thousands of years of human life and experience.

In the future we will be compelled to work harder, live more simply, and more cheaply. We will be forced to more intensive labor and to more genuine productivity. The time for dawdling and sabotage will pass. This sounds cruel, pessimistic; yet there will be no real world rest and development until America comes down to a normal and natural return for effort and common labor.

The standard of living of the American laborer will go down inevitably. If not a single Japanese ever had come to our shores, and if exclusion were complete and perfectly enforced, it would make no difference with the final outcome. If to keep the Japanese laborer out of America will postpone the lowering, which is inevitable, it may perhaps be wise. There are few probably who object to it. There are, however, some thousands of Japanese in this country. They are not working for low wages. They are living as comfortably, as wholesomely, as decently, as any grade of similar white labor is doing. We have shut off the recruiting of their numbers by immigration. We should, however, use them now that they are here, and be thankful for the contribution which they make to our production. In California in 1919 they produced 67 million dollars' worth of foodstuffs, which would not have been produced if they were absent.

—*Frederick Starr.*

(*To be continued.*)

My Jail Experiences

VIII

Everyone who has any experience of jails knows that they are the most starved of all departments. The hospitals are comparatively the most expensive of public institutions. In the jails everything is of the simplest and the crudest type. In them there is extravagance in the spending of human labour, there is miserliness in the spending of money and materials. In hospitals it is just the reverse. And yet both are institutions designed to deal with human diseases—jails for mental and hospitals for physical. Mental diseases are regarded as a crime and therefore punishable, physical diseases are regarded as unforeseen visitations of nature to be indulgently treated. As a matter of fact there is no reason for any such distinction. Mental as well as physical diseases are traceable to the same causes. If I steal I commit a breach of laws governing healthy society. If I suffer from stomachache, I still commit a breach of laws governing a healthy society. One reason why physical diseases are treated lightly is because the so-called higher classes break the laws of physical health—perhaps more frequently than the lower classes. The higher classes have no occasion for committing crude thefts and as their lives would be disturbed if thefts continued, they being generally law-givers punish gross stealing, knowing all the while that their swindles which pass muster are far more harmful to society than the crude thefts. It is curious too, that both institutions flourish because of wrong treatment. Hospitals flourish because patients are indulged and humoured, jails flourish because the prisoners are punished as if they were beyond recall. If every disease mental or physical were regarded as a lapse, but every patient or prisoner were to be treated kindly and sympathetically, not severely or indulgently, both jails and hospitals would show a tendency to decrease. A hospital no more than a jail is a necessity for a healthy society. Every patient and every prisoner should come out of his hospital or jail as a missionary to preach the gospel of mental and physical health.

But I must stop the comparison at this stage. The reader will be surprised to learn that the parsimony in prisons is exercised on the ground of economy. Although all labour is taken from prisoners, e. g. drawing water, grinding flour, cleaning roads and closets, cooking food, the prisoners are not only not self-supporting but they do not even pay for their food. And in spite of all their labour the prisoners do not get the food they would like nor the manner of cooking they would appreciate; this for the simple reason that the prisoners who do the cooking, etc., are not as a rule interested in their work. It is for them a task to be performed under unsympathetic supervision. It is easy enough to see that if the prisoners were philanthropists and therefore felt interested in the welfare of their fellow prisoners, they would not find themselves in prisons. If, therefore, a more rational and more moral system of administration was adopted, the prisons would easily become self-supporting reformatories instead of, as they are now, expensive penal settlements. It would save the terrible waste of labour in drawing water, grinding flour, etc. If I was in charge, I would buy flour from outside, I would draw water by machinery and instead of having all kinds of odd jobs, I would devote the prisons to agriculture, hand-spinning and hand-weaving. In the small jails only spinning and weaving may be kept. Even now weaving there is in most of the central prisons. All that is necessary is to add carding and hand-spinning. All the cotton needed can be easily grown in connection with many jails. This will popularize the national cottage industry and make the

prisons self-supporting. The labour of all the prisoners will be utilized for remunerative and yet not for competitive purposes, as is now the case in some respects. There is a printing press attached to the Yerawada Jail. Now this press is largely worked by convict labour. I regard this as unfair competition with the general printing presses. If the prisons were to run competitive industries, they would easily be made even profitable. But my purpose is to show that they can be made self-supporting without entering into such competition and at the same time teach the inmates a home industry which on their discharge would give them an independent calling thus providing for them every incentive to live as respectable citizens.

I would moreover provide for the prisoners as homely an atmosphere as is consistent with public safety. I would thus give them all facility for seeing their relatives, getting books and even tuition. I would replace distrust by reasonable trust. I would credit them with every bit of work they might do and let them buy their own food cooked or raw.

I would make most of the sentences indeterminate, so that a prisoner will not be detained a moment longer than is necessary for the protection of society and for his own reform.

I know that this requires a thorough reorganization and the employing of a different kind of warders from the ex-military men that most of them are now. But I know, too, that the reform can be initiated without much extra cost.

At the present moment the prisons are rest-houses for rogues and torture-houses for ordinary simple prisoners which the majority are. The rogues manage to get all they want, the simple untutored prisoners do not get even what they need. Under the scheme which I have endeavored to sketch in its bearest outline, the rogues will have to be straight before they feel comfortable and the simple innocent prisoners will have as favourable an atmosphere as is possible to give them in the circumstances. Honesty will be remunerative and dishonesty at a discount.

By making the prisoners pay for their food in work, there will be little idleness. And by having only agriculture and cotton manufacture, including what handicrafts may be required for these two industries, the expensive supervision will be considerably lessened.

—*M. K. Gandhi.*

Draft Treaty of Disarmament and Security and the Outlawry of War

[Editorial Note: In view of the much discussion of the Draft Treaty presented to the League of Nations, the so-called "American Plan," we are glad to publish this authoritative criticism by Mr. S. O. Levinson, originator of the Outlawry of War program. The Draft Treaty is to be welcomed as a forward step toward Outlawry, but not accepted in any sense as a final or perfect embodiment of that idea, as Mr. Levinson makes abundantly plain. The article, prepared for and printed in *The New Republic,* here appears in full for the first time.—J. H. H.]

There are two clearly defined streams of tendency among peace advocates. One group is evolutionary, moves with caution, and expects only moderate progress from decade to decade. To this class belong the lingering adherents of the Hague Conferences, of mediation and conciliation, of arbitration tribunals including the World Court, and of the League of Nations itself. The other group believes that civilization has arrived at a crisis when war must not be compromised or temporized with; that there is no time like the present, and that the legal institution of war for the settlement of international disputes must be abolished, and destroyed root and branch. The latter group does not so much oppose the other methods as it regards them as half-way measures, ineffective to cope with the greatest menace now before the world, and therefore dangerous in their effect.

The importance of bringing these two groups into harmony and co-operation cannot be overestimated. After all war is a man-made institution and can be unmade by the same power that made it. The Draft Treaty of Disarmament and Security is a Revision of the Treaty of Mutual Assistance and is a welcome overture to the conciliation of these two groups.

The original Treaty was prepared by the Temporary Mixed Commission and undoubtedly originated with Viscount Cecil; for when he was in this country in the spring of 1923, he studied the then budding movement for the Outlawry of War with considerable interest. Indeed he wrote two memorandums on Outlawry before he left this country. He made it clear to the writer in an interview in Chicago that in his opinion Outlawry was a mere logical development of article 10 of the League of Nations. The original treaty follows this theory; the Revision, while greatly improving the Treaty, still attempts to provide limited and conditional outlawry in terms of a defensive alliance of which article 10 is so perfect a definition.

The variations of this general theme are interesting, though somewhat confusing. The foremost proleaguers in this country have insisted that articles 10 and 16 of the League outlaw war. As late as December 1st, 1923, their quasi-official organ urged the advocates of Outlawry to accept the League and by means of articles 10 and 16 secure the outlawing of war. On January 7th, 1924, thirty-seven days thereafter, the Bok Plan made its public appearance and sought boldly to pluck out of the League articles 10 and 16. Thus the League brand of Outlawry was repudiated by the Bok proposal.

However, the Revised Treaty makes a substantial approach toward the Outlawry of War, as far as it goes, and must therefore be highly commended. As all real lovers of peace would like to have war outlawed, the difference seems to be largely in the process of its attainment.

The Revision improves the original Treaty in several respects. To my mind much the most important of these changes is the one which puts the interpretation and application of the Treaty under the jurisdiction of the International Court. Unfortunately this course is not pursued throughout the Treaty. For example, the vital questions of limitations of armaments, their relative proportions, information concerning the scale of armaments, and apprehension of aggression arising from military preparation,—all these are put not under the control of the Court, but under the political domination of the League Council.

The same incomplete method is adopted with reference to conferring jurisdiction upon the Court. As I read Part 1, the jurisdiction seems to attach after a dispute has ripened into a claim of aggression. Of course, the potent thing to do is to clothe the Court

with jurisdiction over international controversies before they reach the acute stage of aggression. As it is, the Court takes hold at a time when the nations are preparing for war and instead of preventing the occasion for aggression merely decides which one is the aggressor. This is palpably inadequate and weak.

Another important feature is the definition of an international aggressor, namely, a state that refuses to answer the summons of the Court within four days after notice of violation. While this is not an affirmative definition, if the distinction in kinds of war, aggressive and defensive, is to be crystalized into international law, I regard the definition as strategic and useful. But we want all kinds of war outlawed and are therefore opposed to the distinction between aggressive and defensive war which may outlaw one and legalize the other. As Cecil himself said when in New York, "Any exception may furnish the gateway to war." In 1920 John Bassett Moore suggested to the writer a change in the wording of the Outlawry plan, saying: "When you once outlaw war do not use the word 'war' any more. Do not attempt to make a distinction between aggressive and defensive wars. The right of self-defense is inherent and must be preserved, but is not war. Self-defense by an individual makes the defender neither a murderer nor a duellist." That suggestion was then adopted and has since been incorporated in the Plan to Outlaw War, and so appears in the Borah Resolution of February 14th, 1923.

If sanctions are to be employed for enforcement and punishment, the proposals in that regard in the Revised Draft are perhaps the most satisfactory yet offered. But the advocates of Outlawry prefer to follow the lines of the great American contribution to world peace made by our Constitutional Convention of 1787. The theory of physical enforcement against a State was there repudiated under the leadership of Madison and Hamilton. They maintained that the physical enforcement of a court decree against a sovereign entity produces the vicious circle of war. The American idea of a peace program is one that puts its trust in the solemn and binding agreement of the sovereign parties and their good faith in its execution. When a real Treaty for outlawing war—all wars—is made, it should be ratified by the sovereign people of every civilized nation, thereby pledging the faith of the people to the riddance of war. This would furnish real security for peace and would supplant the use of force—euphemistically called sanctions. It is difficult for the technical student of international affairs, and is anathema to the war offices, to consider any plan for world peace that does not provide overwhelming sanctions. The god of force thus perpetuates the hell of war.

But the whole structure of the original as well as the Revised Treaty rests on an unstable foundation. The preamble says: "The high contracting parties, being desirous of promoting peace and of lessening the danger of war by reduction and limitation of armaments, agree to this Treaty." Note that the purpose of the Treaty is not to outlaw war or abolish its use in the settlement of disputes, but to lessen the danger of war by reduction of armaments. This is putting the cart before the horse. As Professor Oppenheim in his latest work says: "Disarmament will not cause the ceasing of wars, but the ceasing of war will bring about disarmament." It is of the utmost significance that the preamble thus *continues to recognize the institutional status of war.* Its objective is to reduce the number of wars or to lessen the chances of war, not to prohibit or abolish the use of war in international relations. And its method of lessening the chances of war is not by outlawing it, but "by reduction and limitation of armaments." Thus even the outlawing of aggressive war is a mere incident in a Treaty whose paramount purpose is to lessen the chances of war by sheer reduction of armaments. It recognizes war as an institution or proceeding that may be criminal under certain conditions and facts. Therefore, in the absence of these conditions and facts, the institution of war remains perfectly lawful. The world will have no security against the ravages of war if it is only to be outlawed in the event of a certain finding of facts. Let us have done with these exceptions and loopholes and refinements. Let us outlaw war once and for all, without equivocation and without conditions. The fetish of sovereignty seems to be the trump-card of the militarists and the marplot of international peacemakers. Wherefore we are asked from time to time to consider feeble remedies, compromise measures. Take the so-called World Court, for example. Now that it has been approved by both major political parties, one may speak without political bias of that proposal. This court is an arbitration tribunal pure and simple, wholly lacking in jurisdiction except by consent; it has no code of laws which the nations or the Court is bound to respect, and cannot even use its own decisions as precedents in another case. Section 59 of the Statute of the Court reads: *"The decision of the Court has no binding force except between the parties and in respect of that particular case."*

The new World Court and the old Hague Tribunal are arbitration twins, and as Senator Borah has said, "multiplying an arbitration tribunal by two does not make a court." I would like to ask: What dispute with another nation would the United States be willing to submit to the World Court that it would not as readily submit to the existing Hague Tribunal?

The Revised Draft also provides for the right of withdrawal by any party. Thus again we see that the basic idea of the Treaty is not the outlawing of war. The right of withdrawal defeats Outlawry. Such withdrawal would automatically restore the right to utilize the institution of war, for the terms of a treaty cannot be binding on a nation after its withdrawal. Even the limited outlawing of war proposed by the Revised Draft is merely auxiliary and insecure.

Another glaring omission in the Revised Draft is the failure to provide for the codification of international law. Here again is illustrated the incompleteness of its provisions. Article 7 of Part I provides that the Permanent Advisory Conference "shall from time to time consider the further codifying of the principles of international law *relating to acts of aggression and preparations for such acts.*" Just as the provision for jurisdiction begins with the act or threat of aggression and falls far short of effective power, so the codification contemplated in Article 7 is one that begins and ends with laws relating to acts of aggression. This is not a codification of international law; it is merely the developing of rules relating to that approximation to war, to-wit, acts of aggression. Here again the Draft follows the Euro-

pean and not the American method. In 1920 Mr. Root presented a plan for the codification of international law and the clothing of the World Court with considerable affirmative jurisdiction. Both of these progressive proposals were rejected by the League. Until international law is codified, we will be struggling in the quagmires of military necessity, of retaliation and reprisal, of spheres of influence and pacific blockades, questions of national honor and numerous other phrases which when not used as covers for conquest, are invoked to defy and defeat the jurisdiction of any tribunal.

It is clear that the Revised Draft is not an American Plan. It is an improvement by some distinguished Americans of a European plan which contains an American concession. The dish is European, the sauce American. Let us make sure when we put an American imprint upon such a Treaty that it harmonizes with the successful experiments of our own Government and contains the great ideals of peace which our people so cherish. S. O. LEVINSON.

THE STUDY TABLE

Justice at Last!

The fatal defect of practically all auto-biographies is that the writers care for what people think of them; and however honest and candid they try to be, they unconsciously play to the galleries.

Benvenuto Cellini's is fine, just because he thought all his rascalities, meannesses and vanities were admirable, and trotted them out for the show. He thought all his revelations were proper appreciations of himself—as they were, according to the standards of a ruffian libertine artist of his age.

So also of Boswell's "Life of Johnson." He admired Johnson so much that he rightly believed that nothing he told of Johnson could reflect either on himself or on Johnson. The same is true of Browne's new book "Altgeld of Illinois,"*—an account of perhaps the most loved and most feared man of our generation.

As C. Willis Thompson says, "What made him so terrible was that he was the first radical with enough punch to frighten the East."

"Today, if Altgeld were living and had not changed his views since 1902, he would rank merely as a progressive, not as a firebrand." Yet he was called a Socialist, a Communist and an Anarchist (which is like calling a man a Methodist, an Idolater and a Unitarian). The country was as wild in 1886 over the alleged "Anarchist Conspiracy" in Chicago as it was over the "Bolshevist propaganda" in 1922, and the people wanted some one to blame.

"Altgeld of Illinois" would be better entitled "Altgeld of the United States." As an account of the application of advanced political ideas to practical politics in the twenty years from 1882 to 1902, through the two free silver campaigns, it is a complete outline not only of what was then contemptuously known as "Reform agitation," but of the birth of humane legislation. Nearly all of what Altgeld was called an anarchist for advocating is now embodied in our laws.

Most of us have little time for a study of details of milestones that we have passed; all thinkers are interested in what and where those milestones are. Waldo R. Browne, who is a magazine writer, has with great accuracy interwoven this with an absorbing "story" of Governor Altgeld's forcible personality.

Altgeld's career was what we used to call "typically American." That is, he had a hard youth and won his way to success by sheer grit. Some of Mr. Browne's anecdotes, such as that in which Altgeld in search of a job crosses a couple of states with about fifteen cents in his pocket, will supply a hint as to why his sympathies were always with the poor. He made himself a lawyer with nothing in the bank, working meanwhile at other things.

He made a million dollars and deliberately sacrificed every cent of it by two crucial decisions to follow the inner light instead of the lure of gold. Browne's account of these is no tombstone panegyric; it is a psychological study of the mind of a man. "Harper's Weekly's" description of Governor Altgeld, beginning "with his sharply chiselled French Revolution face, his ringing voice, his bitter vehemence of manner and his facility for epithet," is saved in this book from oblivion.

When the present tendency to protest against monopoly results in action, Altgeld will come to his own proper place in history as a defeated though successful Social Pioneer.

BOLTON HALL.

* "Altgeld of Illinois," by Waldo R. Browne. Published by B. W. Huebsch, New York.

"The Education of Ernest Wilmerding"*

This is distinctly a Chicago product, since it is published in Chicago, the author is a Chicago business man and the story centers in Chicago. One suspects that the author has written a good deal of autobiography into the story of the education of Ernest Wilmerding and this adds to the interest of the book. Ernest Wilmerding was a young man in the '70's and '80's of last century, who had been reared in conservative church circles. At the time when we are introduced to him, all his interest is in church activities, but he is led to broaden out from this so as to include music and art, through the influence of a talented young woman, Alice Gardner. While these new ideas are fresh in his mind he meets Thomas J. Breckinridge, a man of wealth and liberal culture, who engages Ernest to organize and conduct a settlement in Chicago primarily for the democratization of art. Ernest eventually falls in love with his employer's daughter Tessa and his love is reciprocated, only to have her torn from him by death from a stray bullet shot in connection with the Haymarket Riot. The book abounds in descriptions of the ideas that were surging through the minds of men of the time, especially the rise of self consciousness in the ranks of labor. Through the influx of the new ideas and ideals Ernest

* "The Education of Ernest Wilmerding," by Edward Chichester Wentworth. Covici-McGee Co., 1924. 269 pp.

gives up his old religious conceptions and develops into a Liberal of the Liberals.

Perhaps the most interesting chapter of the book is the Epilogue. Here we see Ernest in 1959 when he is 100 years old, and still in good physical and mental condition through living according to the light of scientific knowledge. He takes an aeroplane trip over Chicago and the Southern end of Lake Michigan, and explains to his great grandson, Gardner, the wonderful changes that have taken place. After 1940 Communism took the place of the old order of "the Competitive System." People were no longer huddled together in congested centers, but through efficient transportation were enabled to enjoy the blessings of country life. The railroads had been taken over by the Government in 1930 and finally became obsolete and the tracks were covered with cement and used for fast motor cars.

Men of 1959, says Ernest, have "but one world in view." They know that "immortality is in the reproduction of their kind."

Whether we agree with the author in all the conclusions to which he leads, we are under obligations to him for giving us a thought-provoking book.

JOHN F. LYONS.

The Story of an Errand of Mercy*

Dr. Elliott, the medical director of the American Near East Relief, has had some unusual experiences in the course of her commendable service in that unhappy region by some considered as the cradle of what "civilization" there exists today on our distracted globe. The reader of this book is carried, verbally, to numerous scenes of disease, misery and pathos on the one hand and on the other before a stage upon which acts of mercy and of a really noble spirit are effected as a matter of course. The book is not one of propaganda against this or that group among the nationalities involved; one reads a fairly dispassionate record and if there are any conclusions to be drawn one is let alone in drawing them. The pitiable condition of the Armenian people is quite realistically portrayed, while the description of the physical character of those lands makes the work a considerable contribution to geographical knowledge. There is a map of Asia Minor, and two prefaces; one by Mr. John H. Finley of the New York *Times,* and another by Grace N. Kimball, President, Medical Women's National Association, 1922-1923.

GEORGE SARANTON.

*"Beginning Again at Ararat." The story of a modern Florence Nightingale by Mabel E. Elliott, M.D. Fleming H. Revell Co., New York, 1924.

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INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE OF CHINA.

Editor UNITY:

Perhaps the enclosed clipping from a Peking paper may be of interest to your readers. It is a report of a meeting held May 19 under auspices of the Committee of All Religions of the International Institute of China, Inc., of which Dr. Gilbert Reid is the head, and the meeting was the last in Peking which Dr. Rabindranath Tagore and his three Indian colleagues, Professors Bose, Nag, and Sen, attended. Dr. Tagore delivered his farewell message to Peking on this occasion—a message full of spiritual thought and encouragement.

It might be added that nine religions were represented on the platform, including members of Christianity, Hinduism, Zoroastrianism, Confucianism, Taoism, Islam, Buddhism, and Lamaism, and six Chinese societies devoted to moral and religious ideas. The representatives wore their robes, which gave a unique appearance to the display. Dr. Tagore's hour address was translated by a young Chinese Y. M. C. A. secretary, and Professors Sen and Nag, who also spoke in English, had their words interpreted into Chinese by American Christian missionaries. Over five hundred meetings of different religions have been held during the past decade by the International Institute of China, Inc., despite the war, and the one rule has been to bar all criticism and attacks by any one religious adherent.

Wishing UNITY and the editors of UNITY success,

JOHN GILBERT REID, Secretary.

East Imperial City, Peking, China.

"TAGORE'S FAREWELL

"Mr. Rabindranath Tagore gave his farewell address at the Chen Kwang Theatre yesterday afternoon, before a house that was crowded to the doors. The great Indian poet met with a most enthusiastic reception and spoke to an audience that was attentive and sympathetic.

"He spoke on the basis of faith. He said that he knew nothing of creeds and dogmas and that he had never studied carefully the intellectual basis of other religions, and that he was always fearful of giving any expression to his own faith, which he had arrived at purely out of his own experience. He explained that he had been brought up in a family that was leading a revolutionary movement in Hinduism, a movement that was pointing the people away from forms and ceremonies back to the ancient faith and idealism as expressed in their earliest scripture, that he himself, however, had broken away and taken his own line of thought—that he had found his own faith in his experience of the beauty in Nature. Keats has said that "Beauty is truth, and Truth beauty" and he had realized this in his own experience. He gave a simile—a man might come down from the moon, and, without meeting any one, might hear the human voice from a gramophone and be touched by it, touched by the appeal of the voice which reached his heart; but if he saw no man, he would only be able to explain it by analyzing the instrument, not having ever heard or seen the author of the voice. So in his own case, the voice of beauty appealed to him and he could not but feel that there was a personality behind the voice, and this he had found in the flowers and in the sunlight and in all the beautiful things of the universe. You may analyze a rose, as the scientist does, you may analyze its perfume and its color and its shape, but you cannot analyze the appeal of the rose which makes you want to use it as your messenger to your beloved.

"Too much is it the tendency of the modern age to analyze, to allow the material things, the daily fret of life, to crowd out the appeal of the beautiful, and that merely the having of money or power or wealth—pride in any form—prevented one from coming into real touch with the true and beautiful. In closing, Mr. Tagore said he could not be thankful enough that this instrument had been given to him—this instrument for poetry—through which alone he found it possible to give expression to the Truth that was Beauty, and the Beauty that was Truth."

—*Peking, China, "The Far Eastern Times,"* May 20, 1924.

NEWS FROM JAMAICA

Dear UNITY:

Under a previous regime of the British Government, Jamaica made a request for a change of its Constitution. The instrument was drawn up by a former Under Secretary of States, submitted to the Government of Jamaica, but was rejected for the want of wider democratic principles by the elected members of the Legislative Council. After a hard fight by the elected members it was finally revised, and submitted to the Secretary of States for the Colonies for his approval. It happened that at that time the political turmoil in England was on, and the matter laid in abeyance for some time. Recently, however, news came that the Right Honourable J. H. Thomas, Secretary of States for the Colonies had endorsed the Constitution in its amended form in its entirety, and was pleased to recommend it to His Majesty the King for his approval. Needless to say that the matter was received with acclamation throughout Jamaica, with main expressions of gratitude to the Labour Secretary of States. A resolution from an elected member of the Legislative Council congratulating the Right Honourable J. H. Thomas on his appointment as Secretary of States for the Colonies, resulted in a tie when the vote was taken and was

THE FIELD

"The World is my country, to do good is my Religion"

THREE RESOLUTIONS BY YOUNG FRIENDS

I

August 2, 1924.

President Calvin Coolidge,

A group of three hundred Young Friends from all parts of the United States have been meeting together during the last ten days at Richmond, Indiana. We have been thinking about the basic problems of our common life. A concern has developed that our country take its proper place in world leadership. We profoundly believe that the world can be reconstructed only upon a basis of human brotherhood and good will and we believe that the United States should use all of its power and influence to encourage world co-operation and mutual confidence among the nations.

It is because of this belief that we must in all friendliness express our disapproval of the plans for National Defense Test Day as outlined by the War Department. This act we feel cannot inspire the confidence which other countries should have in us and in our purposes. It is rather a source of suspicion on the part of other peoples and directly encourages the military parties in other nations. We must therefore protest against the parading of our military forces before the world on National Defense Day.

(Signed) THE YOUNG FRIENDS GENERAL CONFERENCE.
Sumner A. Mills, *Chairman.*

II

August 2, 1924.

To the Young Friends Movement of Japan:

The General Conference of Young Friends in session in Richmond, Indiana, sends greetings. Young Friends from all parts of America are met together to discuss our relationship to problems confronting our world. We are trying to view them in the light of the teachings of Jesus.

One of the issues which deeply concerns us is that one which closely touches you, namely, the official act of our government in passing a measure which is unfriendly to your nation.

Our Society opposed this proposal when it was before Congress; and now that it has become law, as a group of concerned Young Friends, we wish to express with humility and regret our belief that it was an un-Christian act. We have faith that it does not represent the deepest purposes of the American people, and we pledge ourselves to work for the creation of friendly relations with your country.

Regardless, however, of the policy which our government in the future may follow, we wish to assure you that our friendship is not bound by nationality or race but extends to all men as brothers.

Signed on behalf of
THE YOUNG FRIENDS GENERAL CONFERENCE.
Sumner A. Mills, *Chairman.*

III

August 2, 1924.

The Young Friends of America meeting together in a general conference have faced the question of personal participation in war. We are convinced that the taking up of arms in any war is inconsistent with the life and principles of Jesus. We believe that even if war ostensibly be waged for noble purposes, it inevitably engenders more hatred which in turn makes further wars inevitable. We are convinced therefore that it is impossible for a war to end war.

It is only by the unconquerable power of love that we can hope to overcome misunderstanding and strife. We call upon all Friends and fellow seekers throughout the world to practice aggressive goodwill in all our relations with other nations and classes. We must not only refuse to take life in time of war but we must strive unceasingly to give life, to live and to act in that spirit that delights to do no evil, nor to revenge any wrong, but which seeks, through the love of God, to transform those who misunderstand us or think themselves our enemies into members of a common fellowship of which Jesus is the head.

Signed on behalf of
THE YOUNG FRIENDS GENERAL CONFERENCE.
Sumner A. Mills, *Chairman.*

PEACE CONGRESS IN BERLIN.

The International Association of Peace Societies in Berne, Switzerland, will hold its twenty-third World Peace Congress in Berlin from October 2 to 7, 1924.

From October 2nd until October 4th will be the session of the different commissions and the general assembly of the International Peace Bureau. On these days will also be an International Congress on History by the League of the Consequent School Reformer.

On October 5th will be the celebration of the World Peace Congress at the German Reichstag. The evening of this day will gather the delegates either at the house of Rathenau, or there will be a special program at the "Volksbuehne," People's Theater.

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lost; the Governor, Sir Leslie Probyn, giving his casting vote against the resolution.

On March 14th a party of bankers and business men, all heads of departments, with their wives, arrived here on the French liner "Lafayette," chartered for the trip from Houston, Texas. The party director—The President of the Houston Chamber of Commerce, announced that the motive of the trip was one of commercial interest between this Island and the State of Texas direct.

After an agitation of many years, £2,000,000 ($10,000,000) largely raised by loans, has been appropriated to the city of Kingston for increased water supply, extension of the sewerage system, and re-construction of the streets; work to commence immediately. A municipal election will shortly be taking place, and big business men and lawyers, who hitherto have never interested themselves in anything other than their own affairs, with $10,000,000 looming, to be expended in the Municipality, are now sudden converts to the "people's welfare" and "general good." They have offered themselves as Candidates for the election, and are working over-time, trying to convince a highly suspicious Constituency as to their sudden, but highly idealistic motive for seeking its sufferage.

For the past month, six Anglican ministers from London have been busy here assisting that old established denomination in this Island on mission work. Like the churches in England and the United States, or rather most of them, the churches in Jamaica cannot boast of large attendances, except perhaps on special occasions. In some cases, but for the old women and some children I doubt if they could be opened. Very few young men attend church, especially the more intelligent who find more interest in moving picture shows, pigeon shooting, and other similar amusements. One night I attended a street meeting held by an Anglican clergy with degrees. The music was supplied by a cornet playing popular tunes and was attended mostly by the most unfortunate element of the working class. After the meeting, the minister, side by side with the musician, headed a procession composed of the attendants of the meeting, into the church edifice, thus imitating the long established method of recruiting used by the Salvation Army. Later I was informed that this was a practice in order to stimulate interest in the church, and so increase membership.

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Monday, October 6th, will bring discussion on *Disarmament;* the next day will be a discussion on the *"League of Nations"* and the *"United States of Europe."* To the last will speak Count Coudenhove-Kalergi, the author of the book, "Pan-Europe."

An action of great importance will be the manifesto of *German, English and French Generals* for the *League of Nations* and the *Disarmament of Europe.*

The German pacifists will be very grateful to their friends from abroad, if they would attend this congress, to demonstrate their desire for co-operation and their good will. Prominent men from France, as Professors Buisson, Victor Basch, Aulard, Gernut, Ruyssen, Charles Gide (expert on economics) and General Percin, promised their coming. The German Peace Council therefore asks all friends from abroad to make this congress known. All further information, also about rooms, etc., will be given by the German Peace Council, Berlin, SW68 Zimmerstrasse 87.

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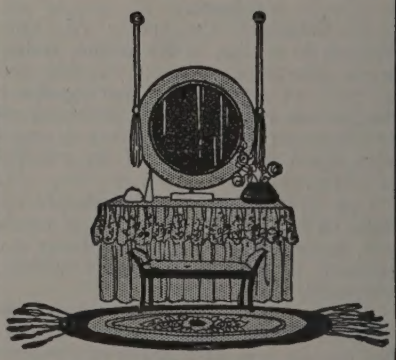

IN SEPTEMBER

Comes another putting in order of the home. Vacations over, children starting back to school, social activities soon to commence, many things to be cleansed and conditioned. All of which suggests the use of this service, which so expertly will restore your clothing and the rugs and fabrics of your home.

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